UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/22041
2 January 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The attached letter, dated 2 January 1991, was addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Observer Mission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations. In accordance with the request contained in the letter, the text is being circulated as a document of the Security Council.

Annex

Letter dated 2 January 1991 from the Chargé d'affaires, a.i. of the Permanent Observer Mission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

I have the honour to forward to you the new year address for 1991 (part of national reunification) of the great leader President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

I request that this letter, together with the enclosed new year address (part of national reunification), be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) HO Jong
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.
Deputy Permanent Observer

Enclosure

New year address for 1991 of President Kim Il Sung
(part of national reunification)

Last year was an eventful year when the entire nation made a magnificent advance towards the reunification of the country in the 1990s and opened a new chapter in the history of the movement for national reunification through a nation-wide struggle.

Last year, the historic 15 August Pan-National Conference was held focusing the high expectations and attention of our compatriots in the north, south and abroad, and meetings, dialogues and reunification festivals were held at Pyongyang, Seoul and abroad by political and social figures, sportsmen, artistes and other fellow countrymen from varoius sections. These greatly auspicious events gave pleasure to the entire nation and demonstrated to the world our nation's strong will to achieve reunification. The fervent sentiments of national unity that erupted, melting the icy barrier of division and confrontation, showed that the anti-communist policy of confrontation, which had brewed distrust and discord within the nation, was going bankrupt and that the noble idea of great national unity was triumphant. In particular, the formation of the Pan-National Alliance for Reunification last year was a valuable success that was achieved through the arduous struggle of the patriotic reunification forces in the north, south and abroad. It was an event of epoch-making significance in strengthening the internal force of national reunification and in expanding and developing the movement for reunification.

On the occasion of new year's day, the entire Korean nation is firmly resolved to make a greater advance on the road to national unity and the reunification of the country, looking forward more confidently to the day of national reunification.

We must not allow the division of our country to drag on beyond half a century; we must accomplish the historic cause of national reunification within the next several years.

A pressing question in hastening national reunification is to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula and to create peaceful pre-conditions for the reunification of the country.

Peace is the most universal ideal of mankind; it is most valuable for our nation. If a war breaks out now in our country, over which a constant danger of war is hovering, the very existence of the nation will be endangered, not to mention national reunification. Maintaining peace is the most pressing question that must be settled by the north and south for reunification of the country and the well-being of the nation.

We have always attached prime importance to the question of peace in our country and have been making every sincere effort for its settlement.

From our sincere desire to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula and pave the road to peaceful reunification, we made already in 1988 a comprehensive peace proposal envisaging the adoption of a non-aggression declaration between the north and south, the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, the drastic reduction of the armed forces of the north and south and a phased withdrawal of the United States troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea. Last year, at the north-south high-level talks, we put forward important proposals for the settlement of the question of non-aggression and other effective measures for removing the military confrontation.

However, the United States and the south Korean authorities do not show any positive response to our sincere efforts; they have turned away from the settlement of the question of peace, the question of military affairs. On the contrary, they are increasing armaments on a large scale. As the proceeding of the north-south high-level talks shows, although the south Korean authorities talk about "peace" and the "cessation of a cold war", they actually refuse to adopt even elementary measures for ensuring peace and only persist in the "priority of exchange".

We deem it necessary to settle the humanitarian questions of visits and exchanges, but cannot compromise with the attempt to delay the settlement of the question of peace, the military question, which is more pressing. Home-town visits or economic exchanges, to be effective, require before anything else that the daggers hidden in the bosoms should be thrown away and that the fear of invasion from the south or "invasion from the north" should be dispelled. Evading the settlement of the military question and insisting only on exchanges in the situation of our country where there is a real danger of war, is in fact tantamount to wishing for no peace, no normal visits or no exchanges. The stand taken by the south Korean authorities at the recent north-south high-level talks in connection with the question of adopting a non-aggression declaration clearly shows that they have no intention at all of settling the question of peace.

The adoption of a non-aggression declaration is a starting-point in removing distrust and confrontation between the north and south and in opening up a new phase for peace and peaceful reunification.

A non-aggression declaration was proposed by the south Korean authorities themselves a long time ago. So there is no reason or excuse to object to it today. We cannot understand why the south Korean authorities bring up a new pre-condition, namely, the "priority of the creation of trust", and stubbornly object to the adoption of a non-aggression declaration. The so-called "priority of the creation of trust" claimed by the south Korean authorities is only an excuse to evade the adoption of a non-aggression declaration. A non-aggression declaration is on no account a question that comes after the creation of trust; it is the very starting-point and the most important guarantee for the creation of trust.

If the south Korean authorities call a non-aggression declaration a sheet of waste paper even before it is adopted and say that they cannot trust us, there will be, in fact, nothing on which they can agree with us, and the holding of talks would be nonsensical. By refusing the adoption of a non-agression declaration, the

south Korean authorities themselves reveal that the non-aggression they have claimed is a lie and that the "threat of invasion from the north" is simply fictitious.

The south Korean authorities must not evade or delay removing military confrontation; they must respond unhesitatingly to adopting a non-aggression declaration and discontinue the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises.

The United States, which is directly responsible for the question of peace on the Korean peninsula, should look squarely at our sincere efforts for peace and the unanimous burning desire of the Korean people for national reunification and abandon its dangerous war policy based on the po .tion of strength, conclude a peace treaty with us as soon as possible and withdraw its troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea.

If the military confrontation between the north and the south is removed and if the United States troops and nuclear weapons are withdrawn from south Korea, durable peace will be ensured in our country, and a decisively favourable phase will be opened for reunifying the country in a peaceful way.

An important matter at hand in hastening national reunification is to decide how the country should be reunified.

Unless the method of national reunification is confirmed, it will be impossible for the north and south to take, in practice, any concerted step towards a common goal or to find any clue to the problem of the talks for reunification, however much they talk about reunification. Since national reunification is the order of the day, not a matter for the distant future, the north and south should agree on the method of national reunification as soon as possible and strive for its realization and thus give a hope to all our compatriots who eagerly desire reunification.

In the situation of our country, where two different systems exist in the north and south, national reunification should be realized by establishing a confederation based on one nation, one State, two systems and two Governments, on the principle of neither side conquering the other nor being conquered by the other.

This method of reunification means to achieve reunification by establishing one united national State over different systems and governments in the north and south, leaving them as they are. Our proposal for reunification by means of confederation is derived from the possibility for two different systems and Governments to coexist in one national State.

Some people now claim that "homogeneity" should be restored in order to reunify the north and south, which have become "heterogeneous". However, the time-honoured commonness of the north and south as one nation has never changed; they are still homogeneous nationally. If there is anything different between the north and south, it is the heterogeneity, which has something to do with the two systems that have existed for the past 40 odd years; it can be no big problem when compared

to the national homogeneity that has been formed and consolidated for thousands of years. The difference in the two systems can never be the reason for our nation to live separated from one another; it can be no insurmountable obstacle in reunifying the north and south. If reunification is based on the national commonness that has been inherited down through history, the two systems can coexist within the bounds of one nation and one united State. Refusing to see this possibility and asserting the "theory of unifying systems" into one State and one system, saying, under the pretext of restoring "homogeneity", that the country has no alternative but to remain divided until the systems are unified is tantamount to an attempt to keep the country divided for ever and, in the final analysis, to refuse reunification.

We can leave the matter of unifying the different systems in the north and the south to our posterity for its slow but smooth settlement in the future. But we must not delay any longer the matter of establishing a unified State as one nation, transcending the difference in ideas and systems.

When two different systems and Governments exist in reality in the north and south and neither of them wants to concede its own, their unification into a single system is not feasible, and when it will be realized is unpredictable. Worse still, establishing a single system presupposes one side eating away the other, regardless of the methods, so it is unacceptable to any side. If one side tries to force what is unacceptable on the other, it will inevitably aggravate distrust and confrontation and, further, cause conflicts and an irretrievable national disaster.

Recently, the south Korean authorities, bewitched by the method of amalgamation through absorption adopted by a foreign country, began dreaming a fantastic dream of applying such a method in our country, too, by relying on foreign forces, through entreaty diplomacy, pursuing what they call the "northern policy". They are making requests for the interference and intervention of other countries in order to force theirs on the other side, instead of showing sincerity in the talks with the same nation. This is an expression of their sycophant mentality and attitude to keep the country divided for ever as well as the replica of the bankrupt policy of "reunification by prevailing over communism".

In our country, "reunification by prevailing over communism" is a wild fancy that will never come true. It has already been proved by history that our country cannot be reunified by one side eating away the other, either by war or peaceful means. The south Korean authorities must understand clearly that the independent stand of our Party and the Government of our Republic is unshakeable and that the socialism we have built by implementing the Juche idea is unconquerable.

Reunification by means of confederation on the basis of one nation, one State, two systems and two Governments is the great principle of defining the method of national reunification suited to the present situation in our country. The only and quickest way for the north and south to reunify the country peacefully by ending national division and reconciling and uniting with each other as a homogeneous nation is to put this great principle into practice.

We have already put forward the proposal for the establishment of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo as the method of federal reunification on the basis of one nation, one State, two systems and two Governments. This proposal enjoys active support and approval from the broad sections of our fellow countrymen in south Korea and abroad, to say nothing of the people in the northern half of the Republic.

We believe that the idea of establishing the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo is a fair common ground for national reunification, which can serve as the basis of national agreement. However, in an effort to make it easier for the whole nation to reach national agreement on this proposal, we are ready to consult on the matter of gradually and completely effecting reunification through confederation by vesting the regional autonomous governments of the Confederal Republic with more rights on a tentative basis and then increasing the functions of the central Government in the future.

As far as the question of United Nations membership is concerned, we consider it best to enter it under a single State name after reunification through confederation. But, if it is on condition that both sides of our country enter the United Nations as one member, we shall have no objection to holding United Nations membership even before reunification.

Reunifying the country by founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo will make it possible to meet the cherished desire of the nation for reunification, with neither side having its interests infringed upon, and to show the resourcefulness and pride of a unified nation to the world.

If they are really interested in national reunification, the south Korean authorities should not dream of "reunification by prevailing over communism", which is impossible, nor should they fool the people with the spectre of "reunification by communization". On the contrary, they must accept our proposal for reunification by means of confederation, which tolerates neither "prevailing over communism" nor "communization", nor invasion from the south or "from the north".

With a view to reaching a nation-wide agreement on the method of national reunification, we propose to convene a political consultative conference for national reunification as soon as possible in which the authorities and representatives of political parties and organizations of the north and the south sit together to decide upon the way of national reunification.

In order to quicken national reunification, a great unity of the whole nation must be realized.

National reunification is the independent cause of our nation, which nobody can carry out in our stead; it is the cause of the whole nation, which cannot be achieved merely by the effort of the authorities or privileged classes. All political parties, organizations and people from all strata in the north, in the south and abroad who reject "two Koreas" and truly want national reunification must unite their will and efforts and achieve great national unity by placing the pressing demands and interests of the nation above all else.

For the great national unity, they should not discriminate between ruling parties, opposition parties and those out of office, nor deal with the minority differently from the majority, nor take issue with people about the difference in their political views and past faults, refraining from distrust and prejudice against the other party. The political forces of each party and each group and people from all strata who desire national reunification must reconcile their policies and actions with one another's and support and unite one another on the common front for national reunification and develop a dynamic, nation-wide mass movement for peace and reunification.

A matter of special importance today in realizing great national unity is that the statesmen of the north and the south make mutual contacts, have dialogues and deepen their trust. Today when dialogues between authorities are under way and non-governmental people from all strata, too, desire to meet for a dialogue, it is shameful for statesmen, who assume a heavy responsibility for the destiny of the nation and the future of the country, to sit with folded arms, keeping a barrier between them. We will meet men of the ruling party as well as men of opposition parties and individuals out of office in south Korea irrespective of the forms of dialogue, whether it is bilateral or multilateral, and keep the door of dialogue for reunification for everyone wide open.

The talks between the authorities of the north and south can never be the only channel of the north-south talks. The south Korean authorities must discard such a narrow-minded, self-righteous attitude as preventing even the talks between non-governmental people while neglecting to promote the north-south high-level talks; they must abolish the "laws" hostile to the north, immediately release those who have been arrested and imprisoned on charges of visiting the north or of meeting us to discuss the matter of reunification abroad and provide all the south Korean people with equal rights to contact and talk freely with the north.

Reunification represents patriotism and division means treachery to the nation. All Koreans in the north and south and abroad who love the country and the nation must shatter all the moves to keep the country divided for ever and rise up as one in the sacred struggle for national reunification and must make this year a year of relaxation and peace, a year of reconciliation and unity and a historic year of bringing a new phase to national reunification.